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ABSTRACT

The prison experience has traditionally been examined from two perspectives, i.e., deprivation or importation. The amount of time spent in prison, the degree of assimilation into the inmate subculture (prisonization), changes in self-esteem, and self-disclosure are associated with the deprivation model. Advocates of the importation model, however, argue that factors from outside the prison experience have an equal effect. Prisonization, self-esteem, self-disclosure, post-release expectations and outside contacts were examined in a cross section of 100 minimum security inmates. Subjects completed questionnaires consisting of a 73-item scale to measure prisonization, the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, and the Jourard Self-Disclosure Questionnaire. Self-esteem was correlated with three prisonization measures but not with self-disclosure. Self-disclosure shifted to outside prison targets as release neared. There was also a significant two-way interaction of self-esteem and social role adaptation on disclosure to inmates. The measures of outside influences showed inconclusive results and did not provide support for either model. The data suggest that inmates who are most involved in the inmate subculture assume more negative social roles and are more opposed to the law and to the institution. (The appendices contain reliability/validity information on the scales used in the study as well as the study instruments.) (Author/NRB)

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THE EFFECTS OF TIME IN PRISON, ESTEEM AND DISCLOSURE ON PRISONIZATION

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, New York, April 22-25, 1981.

Penal institutions are commonly referred to as "schools for crime". This suggests that prisoners enter prison with one set of behaviors, and that these behaviors are modified as the prisoner attempts to survive the prison experience. Researchers have long been aware of the existence of an informal inmate subculture within correctional institutions (Clemmer, 1940; Garabedian, 1963; Glaser, 1964; Schrag, 1944; Sykes, 1958; Skyes & Messinger, 1960; Thomas & Foster, 1974; Wheeler, 1961; Zingraff, 1975). Clemmer (1940) termed the process of assimilation into the prison subculture "prisonization". Researchers have also identified several factors — self-esteem, self-disclosure and the maintenance of contacts outside the prison — that are associated with the extent of an inmate's involvement in this subculture.

Self-esteem, the degree to which a person thinks himself capable and likeable, has been found to undergo changes over time in prison (Bennett, 1973; Culbetson, 1975; Himelson, 1962; Jacques & Chason, 1977; Mc Corkle & Korn, 1954). These changes in esteem have been related to the degree of prisonization, changes in

referent group orientation, and involvement with people or activities outside of prison. Self-disclosure, the degree to which a person shares intimacies with others, has also been used as a measure of referent group orientation and degree of identification with fellow inmates (Braithwaite, 1973; Brodsky & Komaridis, 1968). Finally, the influence of factors from outside the prison, such as expectations for success or failure upon release and contact with persons outside of prison, has been found to effect the prison experience (Hepburn, & Stratton, 1977; Payne & Howell, 1971; Thomas & Foster, 1974; Zingraff, 1975).

Although substantial research exists on these factors separately, no research has examined the interrelationships between these variables. Therefore, the present study examined the relationship and possible interactions between inmate involvement in the prison subculture, self-disclosure, and outside contacts. An overview of the pertinent research and the associated hypotheses will be presented separately for each factor.

Prisonization

Prisonization is typically viewed as an anti-social process that interferes with the resocialization goals of the formal prison organization. Wheeler (1961) noted significant changes in the acceptance of dominant social values through much of the period of incarceration. He observed a curvilinear trend, where inmates' values predominated during the middle of sentence served and more socially acceptable values re-emerged near release time.

Other researchers have subdivided the prisonization process into two components. One component, social role adaptation, is determined by a set of loosely defined prisoner roles (i.e., roles that range from pro-social to anti-social orientation). The other component, normative assimilation, reflects the degree to which inmates accept the values, attitudes and norms of the inmate culture (Thomas & Foster, 1974; Zingraff, 1975). Potential negative consequences of increased prisonization were seen as including increased opposition to the institution, increased opposition to the legal system and increased priority placed on ingroup loyalty. Thomas & Foster (1974) and Zingraff (1975) found that normative assimilation and

social role adaptation correlated both with each other, and with opposition to the law and opposition to the institution. The expected correlation of normative assimilation and social role orientation with interpersonal priorities was not supported by Zingraff.

The present study attempted to replicate the findings of Thomas and Foster (1974) and Zingraff (1975) with regard to the correlations between normative assimilation and social role adaptation and the consequences of the prisonization process. In addition, it examined normative assimilation and social role adaptation in relationship to the effects of esteem, level of disclosure to family versus fellow inmates, and the maintenance of outside contacts. It was hypothesized that both normative assimilation and social role adaptation would show a positive correlation with esteem as well as with level of disclosure to inmates throughout time in prison. Normative assimilation and social role adaptation were expected to show a negative correlation with both level of disclosure to family and number of outside contacts. It was also predicted that the negative consequences of increased prisonization (opposition to law, opposition to the institution and increased interpersonal

priorities) would correlate positively with esteem and disclosure to inmates but would correlate negatively with disclosure to family and number of outside contacts.

Time in Prison and Self-Esteem

As mentioned, various authors have suggested that survival in a total institution forces inmates to behave in socially counterproductive ways (Garbin, 1967; Goffman, 1961; Sykes, 1958). Tittle (1964) hypothesized that subordination to custodial personnel intensified feelings of rejection (by free society) which were then translated into self-rejection. For female inmates, he found that self-esteem was lowest in the middle phase of incarceration and that, prior to release, the level of esteem returned to the level it had been during the early phase of incarceration . For male inmates, the level of self-esteem continually increased over the time incarcerated to a point even higher than where it stood during the early institutional phase.

Other researchers have found different curvilinear as well as linear distributions of change in self-esteem (Kamel, 1969; McCorkle and Korn, 1954). McCorkle and Korn found that self esteem was low in the

early phases of incarceration, rose to a peak in the middle phase, and dropped to the previous levels just prior to release. McCorkle and Korn (1954) suggested that involvement in the inmate social system allows the inmate to reject his rejectors rather than himself. While in prison, the inmate forms a new reference group--his fellow inmates--to compare himself against, in order to increase his self-esteem. As release time nears, social comparison is shifted back to free society and the inmates self-esteem is thereby lowered. Bennet (1973) found this inverted U shaped distribution for only 28% of his prison population, while 36% showed a steady increase up to release, and the remaining 36% showed mixed patterns. Since only part of the prison population revealed a pre-release lowering in self-esteem, all inmates apparently did not automatically shift back to comparison with free society prior to release. Some inmates may see themselves as more fortunate or adequate than other inmates and their level of self-esteem may be heightened. Himelson (1962) found self-esteem to be high just prior to, and immediately after, release with significant decreases occurring several months after release. Culbertson's (1975) hypothesis of a linear

decrease in self-esteem over time was supported for first time offenders only.

Jacques and Chason (1977) found that confinement in a maximum security prison resulted in lower esteem scores when compared with esteem scores of college students, city residents, and service oriented professionals. Yelsma and Yelsma (1977) found that inmates on a work release program and/or enrolled in psychology classes tended to have higher esteem than inmates who were not involved in these programs.

This brief research review reveals contradictory findings concerning the effects of time in prison on esteem. These differences may be due to interacting variables that previous researchers have failed to take into account. McCorkle and Korn and Bennet infer that an inmate's referent group (i.e., fellow inmates or family and friends outside prison) may have a relationship to esteem. Yelsma and Yelsma's findings imply that actual contacts outside of prison affect esteem. Thus, while previous research has alluded to variables that may affect esteem, no systematic attempt has been made to examine these variables. The present study hypothesized that esteem would show an inverted U shaped distribution of change over time in prison.

Esteem was expected to show a positive correlation with the subscales of the prisonization measure. Inmates who exhibit high esteem in the early or midpoint of sentence served would also indicate higher disclosure to fellow inmates at these points.

Time in Prison and Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure refers to the process of making the self known to other persons, and has been shown to be an important factor in determining adjustment and successful functioning in society (Cozby, 1972, 1973; Jourard & Lasakow, 1958; Taylor, Altman & Frankfurt, 1965). Jourard (1966) found that self-disclosing people were adaptive, psychologically healthy, integrated, well-liked and flexible. He described low disclosure as indicative of a repression of self and an inability to grow as a person. Conversely, Altman and Taylor (1971) suggested that too much disclosure occurring early in a relationship can be viewed as inappropriate. Research by Chaikin and Derlega (1974) and Cozby (1972) support this assumption.

The effects of the prison environment on self disclosure over time has received little research attention. Brodsky and Komaridis (1968) used newly incarcerated military prisoners to examine prison group

affiliation (i.e., degree of identification with fellow prisoners) by assessing disclosure target patterns. They found inmates willing to disclose first to outsiders, (i.e., family or friends), next to fellow prisoners, and last to prison staff. Subsequent administration of an alternate form of the self-disclosure scale five weeks later showed no change in target patterns as a function of this five week incarceration time.

Braithwaite (1973), on the other hand, found inmates disclosing most to inmates, next to social workers, and least to prison staff. Unfortunately, the Braithwaite study did not include the alternative of outside disclosure targets, did not retest to assess effects over time, and did not differentiate prisoners in terms of length of sentence served or total length of sentence. Although Brodsky and Komaridis attempted to control some of these variables, their five week interval between testing was not a realistic interval in which to examine prison effects over time since prison terms typically extend considerably longer. To avoid both the difficulties inherent in retesting subjects and the confounding effects of pre-test sensitization, the present study examined a cross

section of the prison population with sentences ranging from 8 to 240 months.

It was hypothesized that inmates indicating high disclosure to fellow inmates would have higher prisonization scores. Inmates would display the greatest amount of disclosure to fellow inmates at the midpoint of their sentences and such disclosure would drop as release nears. Inmates with high disclosure to fellow inmates would evidence highest esteem at the midpoint of sentence served. As release nears, inmates would demonstrate least disclosure to inmates and greater disclosure to family and friends.

The prison experience has traditionally been examined from one of two perspectives: deprivation or importation. Proponents of the deprivation model portray the prison experience as degrading and depriving—an endless series of mortifications. The inmate, through the formulation and maintenance of an inmate subculture, attempts to protect his self-identity and have some control over his existence (Goffman, 1961; Kline, 1968; McCorkle & Korn, 1954). The negative orientation of the subculture is determined by the punitive, restrictive orientation of the correctional institution. The deprivation

perspective implies that the inmate is, for all practical purposes, isolated from any influential positive contacts with free society. Substantial research has been based on the deprivation model. The studies cited previously with regard to esteem, prisonization, and disclosure all support the deprivation model.

However, a significant amount of prison research has viewed the prison experience from the somewhat different perspective of the importation model. Advocates of the importation model argue that the inmate brings to the institution a well-defined set of attitudes and behaviors based on the inmate's pre-institutional experience and background (Irvin & Cressey, 1962; Thomas, 1970; Welford, 1967). The orientation of the inmate subculture is seen as a logical outgrowth of the attitudes imported from the outside (Giallambardo, 1966; Hepburn & Stratton, 1977). This model suggests that the impact of confinement is primarily mediated by factors external to the institution such as continued contact with the outside world and the quality of expectations following release (Thomas & Foster, 1973; Hepburn & Stratton, 1977). Because some previous research has been supportive of

the importation model, the present study will also examine two measures of outside influences.

Extra Institutional Influences

The importation model considers the quality and quantity of actual outside contacts as well as an inmate's post release expectations as important factors in determining the degree of assimilation into inmate society. Post release expectations (i.e., expectations of successful functioning in society after release) has been conceptualized as a measure of influences from outside the prison experience. Inmates' post release expectations have been found to affect assimilation into the inmate culture. Inmates who have positive post release expectations were found to be less assimilated into the inmate culture (Hepburn & Stratton, 1977; Thomas & Foster, 1974; Zingraff, 1975). Other studies have indirectly suggested that increased outside contacts may serve to lessen the degree of prisonization. For example, married inmates were both less deviant than single inmates and less susceptible to assimilation into the inmate subculture (Payne and Howell, 1971). Similarly Reitzes (1955) found that 78% of non-recidivists were married; whereas only 45% of recidivists were married. A study by Ullman, Denore,

Sterns and Wasburn (1957) showed a high degree of family disruption among prisoners. Zemans and Cavan (1954) noted that the percentage of divorce among prisoners was four to seven times higher than that of the general population. The 1970 U.S. Census of Population (1974) presented similar statistics. Rodzenorigicz reported a tendency among long term prisoners to become insensitive to the problems of their relatives during their time in prison (cited in Banister et al; 1973). These data suggest that the maintenance of outside family ties and friendships is a difficult process for the inmate.

It seems that during time in prison inmates become isolated through the loss of supportive contacts with larger society. This loss may serve as a pressure toward more negative involvement in the inmate subculture. In addition, lacking external supports, inmates may hold more negative expectations for success after release. This too may push inmates toward the inmate subculture. Thomas and Foster (1973) found that factors external to the prison (post release expectations and number of letters received) exert a direct influence on the type of social role inmates adopt within the structure of the inmate subculture.

Proponents of the importation model consider the degree to which an inmate has positive expectations concerning his probable post release adjustment as important to his actual adjustment. A positive anticipatory response to outside society would imply lower prisonization. While post release expectations has been used to operationally define outside influences, such expectations seem more a psychological measure of what inmates expect to happen. Inmates' expectations may be either inflated or depressed due to factors that are related more to the current prison experience than to outside or preprison influences.

The present study examined inmates' post release expectations as well as actual outside contacts. Visits recorded in prison log books were used as a measure of outside contacts in hopes of providing a relatively accurate view of the effects of factors from outside the prison. Inmates who maintain high outside contacts would be expected to exhibit less involvement in the inmate subculture, with the point of greatest impact being just prior to release. These two factors may also be associated with the level of self esteem, and the degree and direction of disclosure. Although the relationship between these variables has not

received much research attention, it was hypothesized that inmates with high outside contacts would indicate greater disclosure to outside targets and would experience a pre-release rise in the level of self-esteem.

While the deprivation and importation models may differ with respect to their primary points of reference, they may not be mutually exclusive. Thomas and Foster do not see the research that supports the deprivation model as negating the importation model. On the contrary, they see the importation model as an attempt to extend the scope of the existing conceptualization of the prison experience. Following their lead, the present study also selected variables from both models in order to examine the prison experience.

The hypotheses presented in the body of the introduction suggest that inmates join the inmate subculture in an attempt to maintain or boost their level of esteem. Increased inmate solidarity around opposition to the law and opposition to the institution was seen as a component of this process. An examination of the direction of disclosure over time was expected to clarify the inmates' involvement with

fellow inmates versus family, as well as the interrelationship of such disclosure to esteem and the prisonization process. Support of these hypotheses (i.e., finding strong positive correlations between disclosure to inmates, esteem, and the prisonization measures) is seen as providing support for the deprivation model. It was assumed that both perceived and actual outside factors would correlate negatively with esteem, disclosure to inmates, and the prisonization measures. Confirmation of these hypotheses (i.e., predicted negative correlations between post release expectations and outside contacts with esteem, disclosure to inmates, and prisonization measures) would be seen as supportive of the importation model. But these factors were hypothesized as having significant effects only as inmates neared release and not throughout all phases of incarceration. While elements of both the deprivation and importation models provide a potential view of the prisonization process, confirmation of this study's main hypotheses would offer support primarily for the deprivation model.

Method

Subjects

One hundred out of a total of approximately 160 available male inmates participated in this study. The subjects were incarcerated in a minimum security section of a correctional facility located approximately 30 miles from a large Mideastern city. The sample was limited to Black males since the population of the prison was 98% Black.

Subjects were recruited through announcements on the prison intercom system. The interviewer, a Black female graduate student, also requested participating prisoners to recruit other prisoners until the sample size was sufficient. Four subjects refused to participate after examining the materials. They were replaced by additional subjects.

The data were gathered over a period of three months. Subjects completed the questionnaire in small groups, ranging from 2 to 12 prisoners. Sessions lasted an average of 35 minutes.

The mean age of the subjects was 33.9 years with a range of 22 to 64 years. In terms of marital status, 45% of the sample were single, 28% divorced, 26% married, and 1% widowed. The mean educational level

was 10.3 years. The mean time served for the current offense was 53.1 months with the range being 8 to 204 months. The most common offense was robbery (40%), follow by narcotics (19%), burglary (15%), murder (11%), larceny (8%), forgery (6%), and rape (1%). Seventy-two per cent (72%) of the subjects were recidivists who had already served an average of 50 months in prison on one or more previous convictions.

All prisoners at the prison are transferred to minimum security prior to parole. Therefore, all subjects who participated in the study expected to be released within one to 120 months. The mean expected release date was 9.7 months.

Materials

The scale used to measure prisonization was developed by Thomas (1971) and subsequently used by Thomas and Foster (1974) and Zingraff (1975). It measures the degree of assimilation into the prison subculture. A total of 73 Likert-type items make up six sub scales: (1) normative assimilation--the degree which inmates accept the normative tenents of the "inmate code" (8 items), (2) social role adaptation--the pro-social or anti-social orientation that the inmate assumes within the structure of inmate society

(25 items as originally reported by Garabedian, 1963), (3) opposition to the institution--the degree to which an inmate rejects the rules and standards of the institution (11 items), (4) opposition to the law--the degree to which an inmate holds negative attitudes about the legal system (13 items), (5) interpersonal priorities--the perceived importance of interactions with other prisoners (6 items), and (6) post release expectations--the degree to which an inmate has positive expectations for post release success (11 items). All items correlated with the scale totals, r equals at least .35, significant at the .001 confidence level.

For the present study, the scale was modified by simplifying the directions and presenting all items as statements to which subjects responded true, if they agreed, or false, if they disagreed. A value of +1 was assigned to all items which a subject checked "true", except for reverse scored items for which a response of "false" was scored +1. Items for each subscale were added separately.

Self-esteem was measured using the short form of the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1967). This questionnaire consists of 25 true/false items which

evaluate attitudes toward self in relationship to peers, parents, work and personal interests. Individual scores for self-esteem were computed by assigning a value of +1 to all items to which respondent answered "true" with the exception of reverse scored items to which a response of "false" was scored +1. These items were summed to obtain the final score. Scores could range from 0 (low esteem) to 25 (highest esteem). Coopersmith reports test-retest reliablities for the long form as .88 over five weeks and .70 over three years. Bennett (1974) reports a .80 split half odd-even reliability for the modified short form. Kohenes (1978) further supports the construct validity of the Coopersmith short form.

The Jourard Self Disclosure Questionnaire (1970) was used to examine target patterns of self-disclosure as well as to estimate the level of intimacy. Subjects were asked to indicate past or intended disclosure to the following targets: prison friend; any prisoner; prison staff; spouse or girlfriend; family; and close friend. The questionnaire consisted of 40 discussion topics. For each topic subjects were instructed to check off any of the six targets with whom they would discuss that topic. Each topic had been prerated for

level of intimacy of disclosure on an 11-point scale ranging from low (0) to highly intimate disclosure (10). The intimacy values of all items that the subject indicated a willingness to disclose were summed and divided by the number of items chosen. This was done separately for each possible target. For purposes of analysis, the intimacy values of disclosure to prison friend and any prisoner were added together and labeled disclosure to inmates. The intimacy values of disclosure to spouse or girlfriend, family and friends were also added together and labeled disclosure to family/friend.

Dutton (1963) reports split half correlations for Jourard's scale of .98 for disclosure and .97 for willingness to disclose. Panyard (1970) reports split half correlations of .93 and test retest reliability of .91. Vargas (1969) found the Jourard Self Disclosure Questionnare to correlate significantly with actual disclosure (r =.44, p < .001). Other researchers also provide support for the validity and reliability of this measure (Drag, 1977; Himilstein & Lubin, 1966; Pederson & Higbee, 1968; Vondracek, 1969). Breed and Jourard (1970) provide an overview of much of the

research using the Jourard Self Disclosure Questionnaire.

The three scales were presented to subjects in one packet. The self-esteem and prisonization items were randomly intermixed to disguise the nature of the scales. The order of presentation was alternated, for half the subjects the self-disclosure measure appeared first in the packet, for the remaining subjects the combined esteem and prisonization measure appeared first. Additional information on the validity and reliability on each of the scales can be found in Appendix A. Copies of the scales as presented to subjects appear in Appendix B.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the significant linear correlations between the prisonization sub-scales, self-esteem, self-disclosure, and outside contacts. The number of previous convictions and the number of months previously served in prison were partialled out to remove the effects of previous prison experience. All reported correlations are significant at the $p < .05$ level unless otherwise noted.

A series of analyses of covariance (with previous convictions and previous time served as covariates)

were also performed to examine predicted interactions among the variables. These analyses were limited to three factors at one time in order to maintain statistically meaningful numbers in each cell.

Prisonization. Normative assimilation correlated with opposition to the law, $r = .35$, $p < .001$ and with opposition to the institution, $r = .23$. Similarly social role adaptation correlated with both opposition to law, $r = .49$, $p < .001$ and opposition to the institution, $r = .40$, $p < .001$. This is not surprising as normative assimilation and social role are themselves correlated, $r = .25$, $p < .01$. Similar intercorrelations were reported by previous researchers (Thomas & Foster, 1974; Zingraff, 1975). Opposition to law and opposition to the institution were also correlated, $r = .43$, $p < .001$. So inmates who are most involved in the inmate culture and who have assumed a negative social stance are most strongly opposed to the tenents of the law as well as to the rules and personnel of the prison.

Social role adaptation positively correlated with negative post release expectations, $r = .20$. Apparently as inmates subscribe to more negative social roles, they expect a more negative future upon release.

Interpersonal priorities exhibited a negative curvilinear correlation with post release expectations, $r = -.19$. When greater value is placed on ingroup loyalties, inmates develop either very positive or very negative expectations for success upon release. Interpersonal priorities also correlated with total time served on the current sentence, $r = .26$, $p < .01$ and amount of time prior to release, $r = .23$. Inmates who have served the longest amount of time in prison and who are furthest from release place the most value on relationships with fellow inmates.

Negative post release expectations correlated negatively with outside contacts, $r = -.23$. Thus the fewer outside contacts inmates maintain, the less positively they view their chances for success upon release. Negative post release expectations also correlated negatively with interpersonal priorities, $r = -.28$, $p < .01$. Inmates with negative expectations for success upon release place less importance on relationships with fellow inmates.

Two three-way analyses of covariance using normative assimilation as the dependent measure with esteem, percentage of time served, and disclosure to family or disclosure to fellow inmates as factors and

previous convictions and previous time served as covariates, yielded no significant main effects or interactions. A similar set of two three-way analyses of covariance substituting social role adaptation for normative assimilation as the dependent measure also yielded no significant main effects or interactions.

Esteem. Self esteem correlated significantly with interpersonal priorities, $r = .30$, $p < .001$. The greater the importance an inmate places on relationships with fellow inmates the higher his own feelings of self worth. Esteem and negative post release expectations were negatively correlated, $r = -.38$, $p < .001$. As inmates feel better about themselves they have a more positive view of their chances for success outside of prison. Esteem correlated less strongly with opposition to law, $r = .17$, indicating that high esteem prisoners exhibit more opposition to the law in general.

Esteem correlated significantly with total time served, $r = .21$ and with amount of time before expected release, $r = .16$. Thus inmates who have been in prison the longest and who are furthest from release exhibit the highest esteem.

A three-way analysis of covariance using esteem as

the dependent measure with percentage of time served, social role adaptation, and disclosure to fellow inmates as factors and previous convictions and previous time served as covariates yielded a significant main effect for social role adaptation, F (1,99) = 10.40, $p < .002$. A similar analysis, substituting disclosure to family for the disclosure to inmates factor, also yielded a significant main effect for social role adaptation, F (1,99) = 10.06, $p < .004$. In the analysis using disclosure to inmates, inmates with negative social role adaptation had higher esteem, M = 20.85, than inmates with a more positive social role adaptation, M = 18.95. In the second analysis which used disclosure to family, the means were M =.21.09 and M = 19.04 respectively. In addition, the analysis using disclosure to family yielded a significant main effect for percentage of time served, F (2,100) = 3.64, $p < .03$. Although there were no significant differences in esteem amoung groups of inmates in the early, M =20.34, or middle phase, M =20.80, of sentence served, inmates do experience a significant drop in esteem between the midpoint of sentence sentence served and just prior to release, M = 18.48.

Another three-way analysis of covariance using esteem as the dependent measure and percentage of time served, normative assimilation, and disclosure to family with previous convictions and previous time served as covariates also yielded a significant main effect for percentage of time served, F (2,99) = 3.59, $p < .032$. As found in a previous analysis, inmates at midpoint of sentence served have significantly higher esteem, M =.20.80, than inmates just prior to release, M =18.48. The analysis substituting disclosure to fellow inmates for the disclosure to family factor yielded no significant main effects or interactions.

Disclosure. Disclosure to staff yielded a significant negative linear correlation with normative assimilation, $r = -.16$. The more inmates disclose to staff they less they are involved in the inmate counter culture. Opposition to the law correlated negatively with disclosure both to inmates, $r = -.21$, and family/friend, $r = -.25$, $p < .01$. Inmates who are more willing to disclose are less opposed to the legal system. Disclosure to family/friend and amount of time before expected release were negatively correlated, $r = -.20$, and disclosure to inmates was positively correlated with expected release, $r = .17$. Those

inmates furthest from release indicate less disclosure to outside targets and more disclosure to fellow inmates while the opposite is true for disclosure to family/friend.

A three-way analysis of covariance using disclosure to inmates as the dependent variable and percentage of time served, esteem, and social role adaptation as factors with previous time and previous convictions as covariates yielded a significant two-way interaction for esteem and social role, F (1.99) = 4.73, $p < .032$ (see Figure 1). A set of internal contrasts revealed that the interaction was caused by a significantly higher level of disclosure for inmates with negative social role orientation and high esteem, M =7.39, as compared to inmates with negative social role orientation and low esteem, M =4.20. A similar three-way analysis substituting normative assimilation for the social role adaptation factor yielded no significant main effects or interactions.

A second set of two three-way analyses of covariance substituting disclosure to family as the dependent measure and percentage of sentence served, esteem, and social role adaptation or normative assimilation as factors with previous convictions and

previous time served as covariates yielded no significant main effects or interactions.

Discussion

The positive correlation between the degree of acceptance of inmate values (normative assimilation) and the adoption of a negative social role (social role adaptation) within the inmate culture supports the findings of Thomas and Foster (1974) and Zingraff (1975). The present correlation of r =.25 is considerably lower than that found by either Thomas and Foster, r =.64, or Zingraff, r =.50. Opposition to the law and opposition to the institution were also correlated with normative assimilation, r =.35 and r =.23, and with social role adaptation, r =.49 and .40, respectively. Opposition to the law and opposition to the institution were also correlated with each other, r =.43. Again, these correlations were lower than found in previous reseach. Thomas and Foster found social role adaptation to correlate with opposition to the law, r =.75, and with opposition to the institution, r =.47. For normative assimilation they found correlations of r =.49 and r =.54 respectively. Zingraff reports correlations of r =.48 and r =.68 for social role, and r =.55 and r =.56 for

normative assimilation.

In the present analyses the effects of previous time served and previous convictions were partialled out. The effects of these factors apparently were not considered in either of the above studies. Although, the two sets of correlations in the present study (one with these factors partialled out and one without partials) were not significantly different, the correlations without covariates were slightly higher.

Thomas and Foster discuss opposition to the law and opposition to the institution as negative consequences of increased inmate assimilation and the adoption of negative social roles. Zingraff concluded that normative assimilation and social role adaptation are complimentary, i.e., the greater the commitment to the inmate subculture, the more anti-social the role an inmate assumes, and, conversely, the more anti-social the role adaptation, the greater the commitment to the inmate system. The various intercorrelations found by the present study and by Thomas and Foster and Zingraff suggest that it may not be useful to view these factors as distinct. It may be more appropriate to view opposition to the law and opposition to the institution together with normative assimilation and social role

adaptation as interrelated aspects of a more global prisonization process. To assume causality or consequences of one aspect of the process on another is misleading. Future research may serve to clarify these relationships.

No significant correlation was found between the importance inmates attach to association with other inmates (interpersonal priorities) and the acceptance of the values of the inmate subculture (normative assimilation) or with the social role adopted (social role adaptation) within the subculture. This is contrary to the findings of Thomas and Foster who reported significant correlations between interpersonal priorities and both normative assimilation and social role adaptation. Zingraff, however, also did not find such interrelationships. He offered three possible explainations for his lack of findings: (1) the scale for interpersonal priorities does not measure what it proposes to measure; (2) inmates do not use other inmates as a significant point of reference and inmate solidarity exsists only around opposition to law and institution; or (3) the juvenile population used in his (Zingraff's) study may have reacted differently than adults in reference to their perceptions of being

separated from free society.

Looking at the relationship of interpersonal priorities with esteem and self-disclosure suggests that interpersonal priorities may measure an inmate's ability to relate to fellow inmates rather than the importance of a prisoner's relationships with inmates. This will be explored in greater detail in the discussion of the relationship of esteem and disclosure to these factors.

The expected intercorrelations between the prisonization variables and total time served and amount of time prior to release were not found. This is contrary to other research which reports a differential impact of the prison culture on prisoners over time (Clemmer, 1940; Garabedian, 1963; Wheeler, 1961). Whereas Wheeler's sample showed a shift away from inmate values toward socially acceptable values as release neared, the present inmates maintained a consistent level of values throughout time incarcerated. Therefore, the present data do not support the deprivation model as predicted. This lack of support should not be attributable to some difference between this highly recidivist population and first time offenders since the effects of any

previous prison experience were statistically removed. These data inply that inmates enter prison with set attitudes and that these attitudes as a whole are not susceptible to change during the prison experience. This supports the premise of the importation model that the orientation of the inmate social system results from extra-institutional factors. It may be significant that in the present study no prisoner had served less than eight months. Therefore there is no measure of changes that might have occurred between admitance to prison and the eighth month. It may be that the first six months are a crucial period during which inmates either move toward or away from participation in the inmate subculture. Atchley and McCabe (1968) however, found no significant difference in attitudes of inmates having served less than six months and inmates with longer sentences.

Post release expectations correlated with social role adaptation $\underline{r}$ =.20, supporting Thomas and Foster's and Zingraff's reported $\underline{r}$'s of .53 and.32. The more negative social role position an inmate assumes within the inmate subculture, the more negative are his expectations for success upon release. Evidently, inmates who maintain a certain role vis-a-vis fellow

inmates or the institution hold similar expectations for release.

The predicted relationship between post release expectations and normative assimilation was not found. Thomas and Foster and Zingraff found correlations of $\underline{r}$ =.35 and $\underline{r}$ =.22, respectively. So while the degree of assimilation is not related to post release expectations, the type of role the inmate assumes within that structure remains important.

Post release expectations are negatively related to interpersonal priorities. Inmates with more negative expectations for success upon release place less importance on fellow inmates than those inmates with positive expectations. This relationship is the opposite of Thomas and Foster who reported a significant positive correlation. They assumed that inmates' negative post release expectations push them into greater involvement with fellow inmates. Zingraff did not find any significant correlation between expectations and interpersonal priorities. The present data suggest that increased value placed on fellow inmates may not be a negative consequence of the prisonization process. This may be a more natural, realistic, and possibly healthier response to the

realities of imprisonment than an inabilty or refusal to interact with other inmates. Further, it may be that inmates' friendships are not defined by anti-social values, at least not as measured by this scale. While it is clear that inmates do form relationships with fellow inmates, the dynamics of this process and the basis for inmate relationships are not fully understood and require additional research attention.

The positive correlation found in the present study between post release expectations and outside contacts confirms that inmates' expectations are associated with factors from outside the prison such as visits. Those inmates with greater outside contacts have more positive expectations and conversly those inmates with few outside contacts have more negative expectations for success after release. This supports previous studies that have found a mediating effect of variables from outside the prison (Payne & Howell, 1971; Reitzes, 1955; Thomas & Foster, 1973). Although Thomas and Foster and Zingraff conceptualized post release expectations as a measure of outside influence, these expectations are more likely to be a psychological perception determined by both the current

prison experience and outside factors. Future research may determine the relationship between post release expectations for success and actual success upon release.

Esteem

The predicted linear correlation between esteem and the various prisonization measures was significant for three of these measures: interpersonal priorities, opposition to the law, and post release expectations. Esteem correlated positively with interpersonal priorities. Those inmates who felt better about themselves had a greater ability to relate to fellow inmates. This is not surprising as esteem has been shown to be related to a persons ability to interact with others (Coopersmith, 1967).

Hepburn and Stratton (1977), however, using a two dimensional measure of esteem (character and sociability), found that an inmate's willingness to trust, share with, or sacrifice for fellow inmates was not related to esteem. It is difficult to compare the present data with their findings since different measures and criteria were used but the contradictory findings are still of interest. Considerable research has been supportive of the deprivation model which

views an inmate's involvement in the inmate subculture as an effort to maintain or boost esteem. The present data reflects this assumption, while Hepburn and Stratton's findings support the importation model.

The positive correlation of esteem with opposition to the law implies that inmates who are opposed to the law feel better about themselves than inmates who are not opposed to the law. If, as suggested by the deprivation model, the prison experience is viewed as the process of inmates rejecting their rejectors to maintain esteem, it would be consistent for inmates to denounce and reject the legal system that sent them to prison. This may be a defense mechanism that allows inmates to see the law rather than themselves as at fault. While esteem is related to increased opposition to the law, the relationship between esteem and opposition to the institution is only marginally significant at the $p < .06$ level.

The hypothesized relationship between esteem and prisonization was also supported for the adoption of more negative social roles. An analysis of covariance yielded a main effect for social role on esteem. Inmates with a negative social role adaptation have significantly higher esteem than inmates who assume

more positive social roles. Inmates assuming a more negative social role presumably occupy a more powerful position with other inmates, which is reflected in increased esteem. There was no corresponding significant correlation between esteem and social role. These data further support the relationship implied by the deprivation model, i.e., that inmates become involved in aspects of the inmate subculture to maintain their esteem.

The changes in esteem over time, found in the present study, are consistent with much of the previous research. The main effect for the percentage of sentence served on esteem demonstrates that as inmates near release they experience a drop in esteem when compared with the midpoint of sentence served. While esteem is higher at the midpoint of sentence served than in the early phase, this difference is not significant. The correlation of esteem with total time served and time before release reflects this pattern. This pattern is similar to previous research, which has found an inverted U-shaped distribution of esteem over time served (Kamel, 1964; McCorkle & Korn, 1954; Wheeler, 1961). It is also consistent with other studies which reported a progressive decrease in esteem

over time (Culbertson, 1975 (for first time offenders only); Fitchler et al, 1971; Fitts & Hammer, 1969; Title, 1964). These findings contradict those studies which found no systematic changes in esteem over time (Bennett, 1973; Hepburn & Stratton, 1977; Himelson, 1962).

Esteem was also negatively correlated with negative post release expectations. Inmates who feel better about themselves have more positive expectations for success upon release. This finding is consistent with the prisonization hypothesis, that inmates who are involved in the subculture and with fellow inmates have more positive post release expectations. Esteem was not correlated with visits.

In general esteem's consistent correlation with factors relating to experiences inside the prison supports the deprivation model. The data relating esteem with outside influences are inconclusive, and therefore do not provide support for the importation model.

Disclosure

It was hypothesized that the intimacy and direction of disclosure may in some way mediate the relationship between esteem, time in prison, and the

prisonization measures. The hypothesized changes in disclosure over time are only partially supported. Though no clear patterns emerged, there is a positive correlation between disclosure to inmates and total time served and a negative correlation between disclosure to family/friends and expected release. This implies a shift in disclosure from inmates to family/friends as release nears. There has been little research on direction of disclosure over time served in prison, although it has been suggested that a shift in referent group orientation is a factor in esteem and assimilation into the inmate culture. Brodsky and Komaridis (1968) conceptualized direction of disclosure as a measure of identification with other inmates. They found inmates reporting most disclosure to family and friends outside of prison and did not observe a shift toward greater inmate disclosure over a five week interval. It is difficult to compare their findings with the present data, as it is unclear what the total length of sentence was for their population. It is also unclear what percentage of sentence served the five week interval represented. The present data confirm that these factors are significant in determining direction of disclosure over time.

The implication of the present findings would seem to be that at some point during time served in prison there is a shift toward increasing disclosure to fellow inmates. The fact that both the importance of relationships with fellow inmates significantly increases over time in prison but drops as release nears and that as release nears, outside contacts increase, would seem to support this assumption. But other data do not provide support. The analysis using disclosure to inmates as the dependent measure found no significant main effect for percentage of time served and the expected correlation of time served and increased inmate disclosure also was not supported. Apparently, although inmates place greater importance on inmates, they do not necessarily share intimacies with fellow inmates. As release nears, inmates become more isolated from other inmates both in disclosure and in the value they place on other inmates. This hypothetical curve coincides with that observed for esteem — both esteem and disclosure to inmates maintain themselves as they were upon entry but drop as release nears. In general the present inmate population reports greatest disclosure to family/friend followed by inmate friends, staff, and any inmate.

This further implies that while inmates become involved at some level with fellow inmates, outside contacts remain more important. This supports the findings of previous researchers (Braithwaite, 1973; Brodsky & Komaridis, 1968).

The predicted relationship between disclosure and prisonization was supported only for opposition to law. The correlation of opposition to the law with both lower disclosure to inmates and lower disclosure to family/friends is difficult to interpret. Inmates most opposed to law appear to be more isolated in general than inmates less opposed to the law. This seems in contradiction to previous deprivation models that predicted increased prisonization would be related to increased involvement with fellow inmates. Therefore, the expectation would be for inmates most opposed to law to indicate greater involvement with fellow inmates. The importation model, on the other hand, would account for this discrepancy because inmates feelings toward the legal system are supposedly imported from outside the institution. The present data seem to support this latter assumption.

Conclusion. While several of the main hypotheses of this study were supported, the predicted positive

correlation of the prisonization measures with time in prison, esteem, and disclosure were supported for esteem only. Similarly the expected negative correlation of the prisonization measures and disclosure to inmates and outside contacts was not supported. The predicted relationship between prisonization and disclosure was supported only for opposition to the law. Esteem correlated with three of the prisonization measures: interpersonal priorities, post release expectations, and opposition to the law. The predicted relationship between esteem and disclosure to inmates was not supported. Esteem itself showed a U-shaped distribution of change over time.

Disclosure correlated with expected release and revealed a two-way interaction between social role adaptation and esteem for disclosure to inmates. These data confirm that inmates' involvement in the prison subculture is related to factors within the prison experience, although support for the deprivation model was not as strong as predicted. The measures of outside influences (post-release expectations and visits) correlated with each other. Post release expectations additionally correlated with esteem, interpersonal priorities, and social role adaptation.

Outside contacts also correlated with expected release. These data do not provide substantial support for the importation model.

The lack of support for some of this study's hypotheses may be due to the limited cross section of prisoners. For security reasons, the experimenter's access was limited to minimum security prisoners. All these men expected to be released within about one year or less, and had been transferred to the minimum security section as a preparation for the outside world. Future research needs to examine inmates in maximum and minimum security and assess what changes occur when they are transfered from one to the other.

In general, the data suggests that inmates who are most involved in the inmate subculture (normative assimilation) assume more negative social roles and are more opposed to the law and to the institution. Inmates who feel better about themselves also assume more negative social roles, place more importance on fellow inmates and are more opposed to the law. Inmates who indicate least disclosure to any targets are also more opposed to the law. This seems to suggest that some inmates isolate themselves from fellow inmates. This is contrary to the expectation

that inmates with the most negative attitudes would be most involved in the inmate subculture. Instead it appears that inmates who isolate themselves are as negatively oriented as inmates who immerse themselves in the inmate subculture. When considered in light of self disclosure literature (Cozby, 1972, 1973; Jourard, 1966) that views low disclosure as maladaptive, the findings are less surprising. Subsequent reseach may serve to clarify this discrepancy and to further explore the dimensions of inmate relationships with fellow inmates.

The present study found consistently lower correlations than either Zingraff or Thomas and Foster. There are several major population differences that may account for some of these discrepancies. Zingraff studied a juvenile population, many of whom were first time offenders and were therefore cumulatively incarcerated for much shorter periods of time than the present population. Thomas and Foster used adult males in a maximum security prison. They did not control for the effects of previous time served or nearness to release. In comparison, the present study used Black adult males in a minimum security facility with an average sentence of 4.5 years. All the men expected to

be released within one year or less. Given these factors, the lower correlations found in the present study seem equally representative. The present population also included a majority of recidivists. While the effects of previous time served were statistically removed, similar correlations without these effects removed were only slightly higher. It remains possible, however, that recidivists and first time offenders respond differently both to the immediate prison experience and to opportunities for outside contacts. The number of first time offenders in the present sample was too small for statistical analysis and comparisons. Future research may look at the prison experience for first time offenders over time and compare this experience with that of recidivists.

Finally, some of the sub scales of the prisonization measure apparently do not measure statistically distinct catagories of behavior. It does not seem conceptually meaningful to view normative assimilation, social role adaptation, opposition to the law or opposition to the institution as separate measures when they are so highly intercorrelated. Interpersonal priorities seems to measure an inmate's

ability to relate to fellow inmates rather than an attitudinal measure. Post release expectations were found to be related to factors outside the prison experience though there may be a psychological component as well.

The measures of outside influences did not provide conclusive support for the importation model. Post release expectations and outside contacts were positively correlated, which suggests that expectations are based, at least in part, on factors from the outside. But the correlations of post release expectations with social role adaptation and interpersonal priorities suggest that factors inside the prison also account for expectations upon release.

Several theoretical implications for future research have been presented in the body of the discussion. The present data also suggest some practical applications as well. The relationship between the importance of fellow inmates, positive self-esteem, and positive post release expectations raises the possibility of encouraging rather than discouraging inmate interaction. This could occur around a variety of group focused activities ranging from discussion groups to sports teams or work oriented

programs.

The further relationship between cost release expectations and outside contacts implies a need for more extensive visiting programs that encourage access to family and friends. Greater support of the family beyond just visiting day, including family counseling, and sheltered workshops for post prison life planning, are also indicated. Inmates serving longer sentences have higher disclosure to fellow inmates, less to family, and place greater priority on these inmate relationships. It may be that longer sentences are conterproductive either as punishment or rehabilitation after a certain number of years.

Table 1

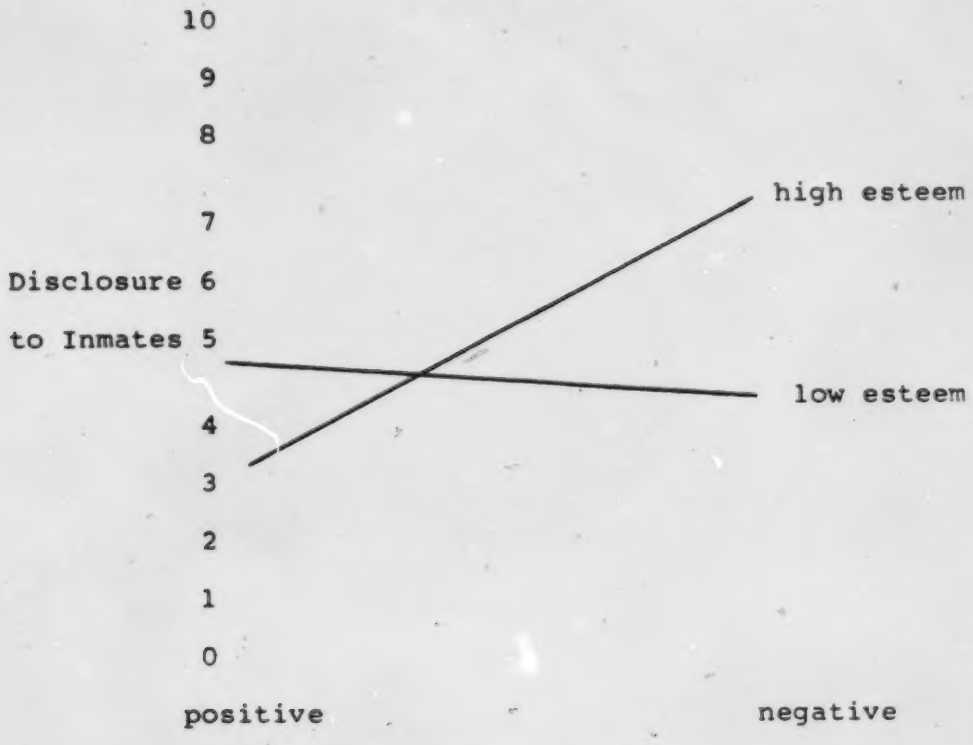
Intercorrelations of Prisonization, Esteem, and Disclosure

	Nor Ass	Soc Adp	Op Law	Op In	Int Pri	Pos Exp	Est	Dis Inm	Dis Fam	Tim	Rel	Vis
Nor Ass		.25*	.35**	.23								
Soc Adp			.49**	.40**		.20						
Op Law				.43**			.17	-.21	-.25*			
Op In												
Int Pri						.28	.30**			.26*	.23*	
Pos Exp							.38**					-.23*
Est										.21	.16	
Dis In											.17	
Dis Fam											-.20	
Tim												
Rel												.16
Vis												

* p =.01 ** p =.001

Nor Ass (Normative assimilation)
Soc Adp (Social role adaptation)
Op Law (Opposition to the law)
Op In (Opposition to the institution)
Int Pri (Interpersonal priorities)
Pos Exp (Post release expectations)
Est (Esteem)
Dis Inm (Disclosure to inmates)
Dis Fam (Disclosure to family/friends)
Tim (Time served)
Rel (Release)
Vis (Visits)

Figure 1
The effects of the two way interaction
of esteem and social role adaptation
on disclosure to inmates



Appendix A

This Appendix contains reliability and validity information on the scales used in this study.

Prisonization Inventory

The prisonization inventory is a 73 item Likert scale developed by Thomas (1971). It is divided into six parts: normative assimilation, social role, opposition to the institution, interpersonal priorities, opposition to the law and post release expectations. Item selection for each category was done by correlating each item score with the summated scale score. Any item to scale score correlation that was not significant at the .001 confidence level, and equal to or greater than .35, was defined as non-discriminatory and not included in the final scale (Francis, 1967; Thomas, 1971; Zingraff, 1975).

Normative assimilation is assessed using an 8 item Likert scale. It is conceptualized as the degree to which inmates accept the tenets of the inmate system that emphasizes physical toughness and exploitation. Social role adaptation is assessed using 25 Likert-type items that define five basic role types (student, ding, drag, joker, rock), ranging from pro-social to anti-social orientation. It is assumed that an occupant of a given role will strongly endorse those items which correspond to his attitudes and behaviors but will not endorse others (Garabedian, 1963;

Zingraff, 1975; and Thomas, 1971).

Opposition to the institution is assessed using 11 Likert items. This variable reflects the response of inmates to their custodians and the institution in general (Goffman, 1961; Zingraff, 1975). Interpersonal priority is assessed using 6 Likert-type items. This variable is conceptualized as the degree of importance placed on interactions with other inmates while incarcerated. Opposition to the law is assessed using 13 Likert-type items. It is conceptualized as the degree to which inmates hold negative attitudes toward the legal system and deny its legitimacy. Post release expectations is assessed using 11 Likert items. This variable reflects the degree to which inmates hold positive or negative expectations concerning probable adjustment after release.

Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory

The Coopersmith Self Esteem Inventory was originally devised for children, but has subsequently been used with many ages and populations (Bennett, 1974; Crandall, 1973).

The scale measures evaluative attitudes toward the self in several domains--peers, parents, school and personal interests. A factor analysis, conducted by Crandall (1973), indicated that the scale was multidimensional. The four factors which emerged were labeled as: self-derogation; leadership-popularity; family-parents; and assertiveness-anxiety.

Taylor and Reitz (1968) found a .90 split half reliability for the long form. Bennett (1974) reports a .80 split half odd-even reliability for the modified short form. Crandall determined the average inter-item correlation of the short form to be quite low ($\underline{r}$ =.13) for college students. Coopersmith (1967) cites the test-retest reliability for the long form as .88 over five weeks and .70 over a three year interval. Bennett reports .77 and .88 for one and two week test-retest reliability correlation coefficients.

In terms of validity, Crandall found correlations of .59 and .60 between the short form and the Rosenberg

Self-Esteem Scale (n = 600). Taylor and Reitz (1968) report a correlation of .45 between the self acceptance scale and the long form. Getzinger, Kunce, Miller, and Weinberg (1972) report a correlation of .63 between the Soores scale and longer Coopersmith scale, and .60 between a derived picture test and the long form.

The modified short form seems to be an ideal measure for the purpose of this study. It has an adequate theoretical base, is reasonably reliable and can be administered in a correctional setting without undue difficulty.

Jourard Self Disclosure Questionaire

The instrument most frequently used to assess individual differences in self disclosure has been the Jourard Self Disclosure Questionnaire (JSDQ). The original version is described in Jourard and Laskow (1958). It consisted of 60 items, ten items in each of six content areas. Subjects respond by indicating the extent to which the information has been revealed to four target persons. Items were scored from 0 (no disclosure) to 4 (full and complete disclosure). Panyard (1970) suggested extending the rating scale to

a six point measure that would include lying. She reports split half correlations of .93 and test retest reliability of .91. Dutton (1963) found a split half correlation of .98 for disclosure and .97 for willingness to disclose. Himilstein and Lubin (1966), in a comparison of the Jourard Self Disclosure Questionnaire (JSDQ) with the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) K scale, reported six of eight product moment correlations between JSDQ and K were negative but only two were significant ($p = .05$). Pederson and Higbee (1968) established construct validity for the long form and the modified short form since the multitract-multimethod matrices exhibited both convergent and discriminant validity. Vargas (1969) found the JSDQ and actual disclosure (as rated independently by seven raters) to correlate significantly and positively ($r = .44$, $p < .001$). Other studies have examined factors that may affect the administration and interpretation of the scale (Charken & Derlega, 1974; Hurley & Hurley, 1969; Fantasia & Lombardo, 1973; Weigel & Warnath, 1968; Weigel, Weigel, & Chadwick, 1968). The modified JSDQ consists of 40 items to which subjects indicate degree of past or intended disclosure to several targets.

The Taylor and Altman (1966) scale, which is derived from the JSDQ, includes 671 statements about various interpersonal topics. The procedure involves asking subjects to select and discuss items from a list of statements pre-rated for level of intimacy. The value of this instrument, with its large pool of statements, is that it permits the development of alternate test forms to minimize test-retest sensitization. Use of 35 to 70 of these items yields an instrument with split half and alternate form reliabilities of .82 and .86. The Taylor and Altman scale covers the same content areas as the JSDQ. In fact it includes items from the JSDQ with modified wording. For the purposes of this study the intimacy values of these items were applied to the modified JSDQ.

Appendix B

This appendix contains a sample of the questionnaire packet used in this study. It contains the following items: (a) Release of information scale; (b) Introduction cover sheet; (c) Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale; (d) Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory; and (e) Prisonization Inventory.

I agree to take part in this study and will answer the questions given.

_____

I give my permission to have my files looked at so that the following information can be gotten: age, time in prison, time of original sentence, time before parole, and number of visitors.

_____

This study is to find out how men in prison feel about different things. It covers topics from conditions in prisons to personal feelings and relationships. The answers you give to the questions will not be seen by anyone connected with the prison. I would like you to give me the following information:

1. Name:_____
2. Length of sentence:_____
3. Time served on sentence:_____
4. Number of letters received in the last month:_____
5. Number of visits received in the last month:_____
6. Number of phone calls made in the last month:_____
7. Expected date of release:_____

You have been given a packet of materials containing two sets of questions. I will go through the directions and give an example of how to respond before we begin each one.

Below is a list of statements. Please read each one and answer it as either true or false by checking one of the blank spaces. For example, #00 - I'm pretty happy most of the time. If you are like that or think that way check true. It you are not that way or do not think that way check false.

True	False		
____	____	1.	I often wish I were someone else.
____	____	2.	I find it very hard to talk in front of a group.
____	____	3.	There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could.
____	____	4.	I can make up my mind without too much trouble.
____	____	5.	The other men are right when they say, "Don't do anything more than you have to".
____	____	6.	It's better to tell the staff what they want to hear than to tell them the truth if you want to get out soon.
____	____	7.	It's a good idea to keep to yourself here as much as you can.

___ ___ 8. I spend more of my free time talking with the staff than most of the other men.

___ ___ 9. Anyone who talks about his personal problems with people on the staff is weak.

___ ___ 10. I try to stay out of trouble but nobody is going to push me around and get away with it.

___ ___ 11. I have more in common with people on the staff than I do with most of the men.

___ ___ 12. I'm a lot of fun to be with.

___ ___ 13. I get upset easily.

___ ___ 14. It takes me along time to get used to anything new.

___ ___ 15. I'm popular with people my own age.

___ ___ 16. My family expects too much of me.

___ ___ 17. When a man deals with the staff he should stick up for his own beliefs and not let the staff tell him what's good and what's not.

___ ___ 18. The men here have more freedom to do what they want than you might think.

___ ___ 19. If you obey the rules here, you will have no problems.

___ ___ 20. My family usually considers my feelings.

___ ___ 21. I give up very easily.

___ ___ 22. It's pretty tough to be me.

___ ___ 23. Things are all mixed up in my life.

___ ___ 24. This institution is the best place that some of us could be.

___ ___ 25. I worry about a lot of things.

___ ___ 26. I usually feel guilty when I do wrong.

___ ___ 27. Most of the men are not very friendly toward me.

___ ___ 28. No matter how hard I try, I keep messing up.

___ ___ 29. I have had some serious problems since I've been here.

___ ___ 30. Other people usually follow my ideas.

___ ___ 31. I have a low opinion of myself.

___ ___ 32. I often feel upset about the work that I do.

___ ___ 33. Most people have done something they could have been sent here for if they'd been caught.

___ ___ 34. There are basically just two kinds of people in the world: Those in the know and those who are suckers.

___ ___ 35. If you have the know-how, you can front your way out of here.

___ ___ 36. I'm not as nice looking as most people.

___ ___ 37. My family understands me.

___ ___ 38. If I have something to say, I usually say it.

___ ___ 39. Most people are better liked than I am.

___ ___ 40. I usually feel as if my family is pushing me.

___ ___ 41. One of the main reasons why I get along in here is because I've got a lot of confidence in myself.

___ ___ 42. If you know the right people you can get just about anything you want in here.

___ ___ 43. The men trust me to be straight with them.

___ ___ 44. You have to do what you can to help other men even if it might get you in trouble with the staff.

___ ___ 45. The best way to get along in here is to keep your mouth shut and never let the staff know that anything is getting

you down.

___ ___ 46. I often get discouraged at what I am doing.

___ ___ 47. Things usually don't bother me.

___ ___ 48. I can't be depended on.

___ ___ 49. Knowing that you are tough is enough. You don't have to show it by force.

___ ___ 50. I don't like anybody to boss me around.

___ ___ 51. Around here it's better to do something to others before they have a chance to do it to you.

___ ___ 52. You have to take care of yourself because nobody else is going to take care of you.

___ ___ 53. The best way to get respect around here is to act tough.

___ ___ 54. "Might is right" and "Every man for himself" are the main rules of life no matter what people say.

___ ___ 55. Most of the people on the staff are open to our suggestions on how to improve conditions around here.

___ ___ 56. The staff here don't seem to realize that each of us have different kinds of problems.

___ ___ 57. The staff here are more concerned with helping us than in punishing us for what we have done.

___ ___ 58. The supervisors are usually willing to meet us half-way.

___ ___ 59. Some people on the staff have taken a sincere interest in what happens to me.

___ ___ 60. This place is run in a way that makes it easy for the staff but little consideration is shown for our needs and desires.

___ ___ 61. The people on the staff are here to money, not to help any of us.

___ ___ 62. All the people on the staff seem to have different rules that they want us to follow.

___ ___ 63. If you stop and think about it, most of the rules they have here make pretty good sense.

___ ___ 64. The staff here seems to believe that the only way to help us is to punish us as much as they can.

___ ___ 65. The staff here do the best they can to treat us as individuals rather than just numbers.

___ ___ 66. You have to be very careful about who you are friendly with here.

___ ___ 67. I don't really feel close to any of the

men here.

____ ____ 68. Real friends are hard to find here.

____ ____ 69. I don't seem able to get along with most of the other men.

____ ____ 70. I don't seem to have much in common with the men I've met here.

____ ____ 71. I'd like to keep in touch with some of the men here after I get out.

____ ____ 72. It's hard for me to respect the law when I think of how I have been treated by the police and the courts.

____ ____ 73. A man should tell the truth in court no matter what happens.

____ ____ 74. From what I know I think most judges are fair in their decisions.

____ ____ 75. Laws are for the poor to obey and the rich to ignore.

____ ____ 76. The only kind of person I take for a friend is one who respects the law.

____ ____ 77. It's alright to bend the law as long as you don't break it.

____ ____ 78. The only bad thing about breaking the law is getting caught.

___ ___ 79. There's nothing wrong with breaking the law as long as nobody gets hurt.

___ ___ 80. The law is rotten to the core.

___ ___ 81. We should obey the law even if we don't agree with it.

___ ___ 82. The law keeps a lot of people from becoming criminals.

___ ___ 83. It is okay to hang around with people who break the law as long as you stay clean yourself.

___ ___ 84. You've got to really respect a guy who is smart enough to break the law and get away with it.

___ ___ 85. Nobody at home cares whether I live or die anymore.

___ ___ 86. So many bad thing have happened to me that the future doesn't look good for me when I go home.

___ ___ 87. I'm confident that things will be better for me when I leave here.

___ ___ 88. My family and friends have just about given up on me.

___ ___ 89. The people I knew before I came here will still respect me when I go home.

___ ___ 90. I don't think that having been here will hurt my chances for getting a

better job after I get out.

____ ____ 91. I think people will give me a fair chance when I leave here as long as I stay out of trouble.

____ ____ 92. Most of the people on the outside don't give someone who has been here a fair chance.

____ ____ 93. Being sent here has ruined my whole life.

____ ____ 94. I'm afraid to face the people I knew when I get out.

Below is a list of topics along with a set of six columns next to each topic. If you would talk about that topic with someone make a check in the column of the person or persons you would talk about that with. You may check up to six columns. If you would not talk about that topic with anyone leave those columns blank.

	Spouse	Family	Friend	Friend	Anyone	Staff
				Inside Prison		
1. What you dislike about your overall appearance.						
2. The things about your appearance that you like most.						
3. Your chief health concern, worry or problem at this time.						
4. Your favorite spare-time hobbies or interest.						
5. Your food dislikes at present.						
6. How often you go to church.						
7. Your personal religious views.						
8. Kinds of magazines, books, you read.						

9. What annoys you most about your closest friend of the opposite sex.

10. Whether or not you have sex problems.

11. Names of your sex partners in the past, present.

12. Things about yourself that worry or annoy you.

13. The pressures and strains in your daily work.

14. Things about the future that you worry about right now.

15. What you are most sensitive about.

16. What you feel the most ashamed of in your past.

17. Your views about what is acceptable sex morality for people to follow.

18. The kinds of music you enjoy listening to the most.

19. The subjects you did not, or do not like in school.

20. Whether or not you do anything special to maintain or improve your appearance, like diet or exercise.

21. The kinds of things others do that annoys you, or makes you furious.

22. The things about your father that you do not or did not like.

23. The things about your mother that you do not or did not like.

24. What you daydream about most.

25. The feelings you have the most trouble controlling, like worry, anger, jealousy.

26. The biggest dissappointment that you have had in your life.

27. How you feel about your choice of life work.

28. What you regard as your biggest problem in doing a better job in your work or studies.

29. Your views on the segregation of blacks and whites.

30. Your thoughts and feelings about religious groups other than your own.

31. Your strongest ambition at the present time.

32. Whether or not you have planned some major decision in the near

future, like a new car, marriage.					
33. The kinds of jokes you like to hear.					
34. Whether or not you have savings; if so, how much.					
35. The things you own that you are most proud of and take good care of, like your car or clothes.					
36. How you sleep, well or poorly, or with the help of drugs.					
37. Your favorite televison shows.					
38. Your favorite comics.					
39. The groups or clubs you belong to.					
40. The things you do not like to drink or what you like the best.					

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